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ABSTRACT

With 13.9 million members, labor unions represent more working families than any other organization in the United States. Although meeting the child care challenge is not as high a priority in some quarters of the labor movement as in others, it is still a major concern. Since the advent of new leadership in the labor movement in the mid-1990s, new union initiatives are under way to expand the quality, affordability, and availability of child care services; to increase the compensation and dignity of child care workers; and to increase parents' ability to care directly for their children. In addition to such benefits in and of themselves, union efforts on their behalf also advance labor's organizing and collective bargaining activities. During interviews, several prominent labor leaders expressed support for an active union role in improved child care services and offered detailed plans for carrying out this policy. These plans fell into three models--bottom up, top down, and outside pressure. Useful strategies in all of these models included broadening the issue, promoting child care as a right, identifying champions, setting accomplishable goals, legitimating new ideas, increasing visibility, and building coalitions. The bulk of this report consists of detailed appendices covering workplace policies won through bargaining, bargaining strategies, New York and California coalitions, action plans, and catalytic agencies. (Contains 15 references and 43 notes.) (EV)

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LABOR'S ROLE IN ADDRESSING THE CHILD CARE CRISIS

LEA GRUNDY, LISSA BELL, AND NETSY FIRESTEIN

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Lissa Bell, Lea Grundy, and Netsy Firestein
Labor Project for Working Families

December 1999

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INTRODUCTION: THE CHILD CARE CHALLENGE TO PARENTS AND SOCIETY

The huge demand for child care services will grow as more women work and the trend toward a 24-hour economy and longer work hours continues.

- Sixty percent of women with children under 5 are in the labor force.[1] Put another way, 10 million preschoolers have working mothers.
- 24 million school-age children need care after school.[2]
- By 2001, 69 percent of families will consist of single parents or two parents who work full time. Nearly all will require full-time child care.[3]
- At-home parents too want quality child care and early education services to enrich their children's development.

Quality child care is expensive, out-of-reach for low-income parents, and not widely available for all income groups.

- Quality child care is the fourth largest expenditure after food, housing, and taxes. Licensed fulltime care for a child under age 2 averages $135 ($7,020 annually), representing 68 percent of an annual minimum-wage salary.[4]
- 56 percent of mothers with children under age 5 identify finding affordable child care as a serious problem.[5] A national survey of child care centers found that 7 in 10 provided mediocre care and 1 in 8 threatened the health and safety of children.[6]
- The shortage of services is particularly acute for the 1 in 5 (14.3 million) full-time workers (half of them mothers), who work nonstandard hours (outside 9 to 5). School hours and vacation schedules that do not coincide with work schedules compound the problem.[7]

Most child care workers are poorly paid, and many programs lack qualified staff.

- In some areas, providers of child care services face a staffing crisis.[8] Even in centers that provide quality care, turnover is high because the best trained and most experienced workers often move into better-paying jobs in other fields, including early-education programs in public schools.
- Average wages for child care teachers nationwide are $6.70 an hour, and some one-third of them are paid the minimum wage.[9] Most have no health insurance, sick leave, vacation, or other basic benefits.[10] They are underpaid even for women in female-dominated occupations.[11] Ironically, therefore, parents who pay for child care are obtaining services from workers who are often too poor to afford child care for their own children.

A tire factory in Opelik, Alabama, changes to a 24-hour schedule, requiring all workers to work a rotating shift. But no child care facilities in the area stay open after 6:00 p.m.

SUMMARY

Millions of working families must choose between their jobs and quality care for their children. If it is available at all, good child care is expensive. Many child care[12] workers are poorly trained and poorly paid.

Who speaks for the children of America's working families? The stability and healthy development of families requires better private and public policies - better child care benefits and subsidies, flexible work schedules, parental leave, leave to care for a sick child, and more. Achieving these policies will take the voices of parents and grandparents, churches, community organizations, dedicated public officials at all levels, business, professionals in the education, health, and social service fields, research centers, and foundations and other funding agencies.

Labor unions also speak for the children of America's working families. With 13.9 million members, they represent more working families than any other organization in the United States. Although meeting the child care challenge is not as high a priority in some quarters of the labor movement, it is a major concern. Unions have been effective advocates in this field in the past. Since the advent of new leadership in the labor movement in the mid-1990s, new union initiatives are under way to expand the quality, affordability, and availability of child care services to increase the compensation and dignity of child care workers, and to increase parents' ability to care directly for their children. In addition to such benefits in and of themselves, union efforts on their behalf also advance labor's organizing and collective bargaining activities. But as in such other areas as occupational health and safety, child labor, livable wages, union contributions to child care policy benefit nonunion families and the society as a whole. Thus they can raise labor's profile and acceptance in the public mind.

Several prominent labor leaders interviewed for this paper expressed support for an active union role in support of improved child care services and offered detailed plans for carrying out this policy.

The bulk of this report consists of detailed appendices. We strongly suggest that nonunion as well as union readers examine them, because concerned citizens all have a stake in the availability of quality child care for America's working families, perhaps as activists in coalitions with labor unions and other agencies dedicated to social advancement, perhaps as individuals called upon from time to time to voice their views on public policies and legislation.

The appendices provide examples of successful union achievements in the child care field, collective bargaining strategies for child care, action plans for pursuing them, illustrations of their implementation in many parts of the country, and recommendations for increasing union activism on child care issues. Implicit in this material is the benefit to society-at-large from the past contributions of the labor movement to this vital element on the social agenda, and the potential for greater advances.

A bus driver must get her children to child care before 5:00 a.m., because she cannot be even two minutes late for her shift.

INADEQUATE POLICIES TAKE A TOLL ON FAMILIES AND WORK OPPORTUNITIES

Mothers who are the primary caregivers for their children (the 60 percent of working women with children under age six) often cannot participate fully in the labor force.[13] Employers and the government have not changed the rules of the game - notably around child care - so that mothers can compete equally.[14] Employers avoid responsibility, and government underfunds public child-care programs.

Without advance notice, restaurant workers at a large hotel in Las Vegas are told that they must work overtime. Their hours change every week. The uncertain schedule means they often must change child care responsibilities at the last minute.

Changes in work schedules and inflexible leave policies make it harder for working families to spend enough time with their children, to nurture their children at critical points - in the first year of life, when a child is ill or in

trouble, when he or she is experiencing a joyous event, when a child's education demands special attention.[15] Yet, some workplace policies, many of which have been won through collective bargaining, make it possible for parents to meet their family needs without threatening their income. They include parental, family and medical leave, and leave for school-related events, flexible work schedules, and expanded availability and protections of the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. Examples are given in Appendix I.

LABOR'S ADVOCACY FOR CHILD CARE

Child care issues cannot be isolated from other issues important to labor unions. What's important is that the labor movement be a source of meaningful improvement in people's lives – Dennis Rivera, president, 1199 National Health and Human Service Employees Union, affiliated with the Service Employees International Union – June 9, 1999.

While the labor movement's focus has been on the workplace, unions concerned with the whole wellbeing of their members are attentive to their personal as well as vocational needs and desires, their roles as family members and providers, in short, their lives outside the workplace. Family and children's issues have been union issues from the early days of the U.S. labor movement. For the last century, labor unions have organized and fought for a ban on child labor, living-wage and minimum-wage laws, the eight-hour day, the 35-hour week, an end to sweatshops and homework, decently paid part-time work with benefits, family and medical leave, employer-paid health insurance for families, and free public education.

Morton Bahr, president of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) views child care and the flexible workweek as "bread and butter issues," along with other elements in the broad social agenda that labor unions advocate.[16]

Placing that observation in historical perspective, Elizabeth Bunn, a vice president of the UAW (International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America), said the struggle to provide child care for her members goes to the heart of the UAW's vision of itself as part of a social movement including activism around civil rights, minimum wage protections, and support for international trade unionism.[17]

Labor's policy goals for child care include:

- increased government investment in quality and affordable child care services
- fair compensation of those who provide this care; and
- widely available family leave, particularly paid leave

Thus, after World War II, unions opposed the federal government's attempt to dismantle child care centers that had been set up, often at labor's behest, to accommodate the surge of women into the paid workforce.[18] Unions were hobbled in pushing for employer contributions to child care by the Taft-Hartley Act, which prohibited bargaining for employer funding. Unions successfully advocated for a reform of the Act in 1969. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) pioneered in establishing employer-supported child care centers for its members.[19] In the 1970s, the AFL-CIO began calling for child care to be offered universally in the public schools. A towering achievement was the campaign by the labor movement in coalition with others to pass the federal Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. As at the federal level, unions have been key members of coalitions working in the states to expand family and medical leave, in California, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Washington. Appendix III details two of these coalition efforts.

Coalition building is essential to these efforts - coalitions among the diverse parts of the labor movement itself, and coalitions between labor and such other players as advocacy and community groups, faith-based organizations, researchers, and legislators. A labor-driven coalition won over $177 million new dollars in New York State funding for child care in the 1999 legislative session. Ironically, $75 million from the previous year's allocation remained unspent, because there are not enough child care providers to meet the demand (New York Times, 10/2/99, B1).

Many union leaders and staff do not perceive child care to be either an organizing or a bargaining issue. [They] reflect a widespread cultural belief that child care and other work/family conflicts are personal issues that are the responsibility of each individual. – Deborah King, Chair, New York Union Child Care Coalition, July 19, 1999

WHERE ON THE AGENDA?

Over the last few decades, forces have arisen that push unions into greater commitment and advocacy of child care: 1) increased numbers of women in the paid labor force and in unions, 2) a growing ratio of women to men in unions, and 3) women's activism within the union ranks.

Yet unions could be and should be more active in campaigning for child care. Many labor leaders themselves have not experienced child care problems. Also, the rank-and-file have not voiced a mandate for child care advocacy as a foremost issue. For example, in a survey conducted by the Working Women's Department of the AFL-CIO, equal pay and health care ranked above child care as the most important issues. Karen Nussbaum, director of the department, concludes that women are more likely to demand wage increases and use the money to pay for care themselves. Andrew Stern, president of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), said the results reflect a "hierarchy of needs;" people are not likely to demand child care on the job if their basic wage and benefits needs are not being met.[20]

"Child care can be a tough sell," Nussbaum said, but some labor leaders believe it can be an excellent issue for organizing.[21] The key is listening to workers' concerns, observed Gloria Johnson, president of the national organization, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and an official of the International Union of Electrical Workers. In organizing rank-and-file members, she raises the child care issues and urges organizers to understand that when workers talk about "stress" on the job, they often mean "family stresses," such as, "I've got to get home, drop off my child, etc."[22]

The bottom line (with these benefits) is respect for members. These benefits address needs workers have that go beyond health and welfare needs as conventionally understood. – Michael Casey, President, Local 2, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE).

BARGAINING FOR CHILD CARE

Before and after the historic Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, labor has scored collective bargaining victories related to family wellbeing. They include contracts that provide for child care funds, on-site and near-site care centers, extended-hours child care, and social and emergency child care. Unions have also had success in bargaining for generous family leave and alternative work schedule policies. Some 1.6 million workers are covered by some type of child care benefits through their union contracts, according to a 1998 study. The study undercounts the number of contracts and covered workers, because it defines child care provision somewhat narrowly; it does not, for example, count parental leave as a child care provision, and it draws from only a portion of union contracts.

Illustrating child care contract provisions of specific unions, a 1998 survey of agreements negotiated by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) covering 70% of the union's 1.3 million members, found that 648,000 employees were covered. All contracts between the United Auto Workers and the "Big Three" companies - the Ford Motor Company, General Motors, and DaimlerChrysler - covering 397,000 employees, contain extensive child care provisions.

Another source of data is the "Best Contracts" database of the Labor Project for Working Families, covering 325 bargaining agreements with exemplary family-related benefits.[23]

A LEVER FOR ORGANIZING, A SIDELINE BARGAINING ISSUE

As labor's membership has dwindled over the last few decades, organizing is the high priority for many unions. But opinion in the labor movement appears to be divided on whether child care is a good issue for union organizing. Katie Quan of the Center for Labor Research and Education, University of California, Berkeley (formerly a

vice president of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees [UNITE]), argued that union organizers should consider child care a key issue for galvanizing a workforce, especially low-wage workers. The SEIU's Stern added, "In the labor movement, if you do something that works, everyone will copy you. The proof is in the pudding."

But without a strong consensus linking child care to organizing, unions are likely to sideline the issue in bargaining. In Deborah Schneider's union, a small minority of members have children under age five. They do not consider child care their employers' or society's responsibility. Also, they are not often active in their unions because they are too busy managing their work and family responsibilities. Thus, Sharon Stiller, assistant on Women's Issues to the president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), advocates a strategy of moving more women into positions such as grievance handlers or negotiators so they can bring the perspective of working women to the bargaining table.[24]

Bargaining strategies for child care that have been followed throughout the country are outlined in Appendix IV.

ORGANIZING CHILD CARE WORKERS[25]

Many child care center directors have been working on wage and quality issues for years – Barb Wiley, organizer of child care workers in Seattle

Fewer than five percent of child care workers belong to a labor union, but unionization is increasing because of a desire for greater dignity as a profession and the need for better salaries and benefits. One notable success is the unionization of 1000 child care workers in Massachusetts by the Child Care Employees Union (United Auto Workers). Large-scale organizing drives are under way in Seattle and Philadelphia. In Seattle, teaching staff at 12 centers joined District 925 of the SEIU. In Philadelphia, 20 teachers and child care workers created the United Child Care Union, chartered by the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees/AFSCME.

To surmount one of the major barriers in organizing care workers - their dispersion among many small employers and workplaces - the Seattle and Philadelphia organizers are trying to create an association of center directors and owners to recognize the unions and negotiate a master contract.

MODELS FOR CHANGE: FROM THE BOTTOM UP, THE TOP DOWN AND OUTSIDE IN

Union leaders who spoke to us proposed ideas to increase union effectiveness in advocating child care that fell into three models - bottom up, top down, and outside pressure, each of which had players described as the "catalyst" for reform, and each also had an audience on which the catalyst group is exerting pressure for change.

In order to make child care a priority for top union leaders, it is important to encourage union members to make their voices heard – Linda Chavez-Thompson, Executive Vice President of the AFL-CIO, June 11, 1999

Change from the Bottom Up

Responding to the perception that union members do not voice a clear mandate for provision of child care, Andrew Stern noted, "There are many needs in people's lives which we can or can't deal with...we need to know this is a big need for people."[26]

Among the tools with which members can serve the role of catalyst are surveys to elicit an accurate picture of members' child care needs, and women's committees and other rank-and-file activism. (Quan described a "broad, boisterous" committee that had press conferences on the street and signed petitions in factories until their local union could no longer ignore their needs.[27]) The Steelworkers' Stiller develops training and education programs to help members of women's committees to feel comfortable in leadership roles and learn how to build alliances in their union and community.[28]

Change from the Top Down

In this model, top-level leaders are convinced to make child care a priority, and serve as catalysts to audiences of mid- and lower-level leaders and rank-and-file members. Top union leaders are motivated to elevate the

Middle-income working women end up putting their children in often mediocre care, for-profit chain centers where care standards are quite low because dollars are taken out of child care to make a profit – Deborah Schneider, Service Employees International Union District 925, May 20, 1999

cause of child care to priority rank through surveys, focus groups, and other listening tools.

Themes on which educational campaigns for union leaders should focus include the high cost of quality child care and the important role child care as an industry plays in economic development. Amy Dean, executive officer of the South Bay Labor Council, AFL-CIO, in San Jose, California, said union leaders should recognize child care as an important component of the service infrastructure necessary to keep workers on the job. They should also recognize child care as an industry itself, generating jobs and revenue.[29]

High-level union leaders whose own families have not faced child care difficulties (whose spouses took primary responsibility for child-rearing, for example) should be exposed to leaders or members who have had to cope with the balancing act between work and child care.

Change from the Outside In

In this model, the catalyst for change comes from outside the labor movement - individuals such as elected political leaders, women's leaders, or other respected outsiders. Another outside catalyst to draw in labor unions would be a coalition of individuals and groups who already make child care advocacy a priority.

We have to demonstrate to labor leaders that there's interest at the base, that the public responds, and there's political interest, such as from the President, First Lady and/or Congress. – Karen Nussbaum, Director, AFL-CIO Working Women's Department, May 10, 1999

Each of these models implies using particular kinds of strategies. For example, bottom-up change would require campaigns that mobilize rank-and-file members. For top-down change, education of high-level leaders and personalization of the child care issue for them are indicated. The outside-in approach requires securing the commitment of political and other leaders outside the labor movement to persuade unions to take action.

These strategies, which could be useful in any of the above models, include: broadening the issue, promoting child care as a right, identifying champions, setting

accomplishable goals, legitimating new ideas, increasing visibility, and building coalitions.

Broaden the Issue

Unions need to look at child care as more broadly useful for working people and as part of a package of family supports.

Many of the leaders interviewed hammered home the point that child care must be defined broadly to win the support of as wide a constituency as possible. Rather than viewing child care as only important for birth mothers of preschool-age children, unions need to look at child care as more broadly useful for working people and as part of a package of family supports. Child care is important for all fathers, mothers, grandparents, and others caring for children of any age. This means that dialogue about child care should explicitly address the needs of adoptive parents, moms, dads, grandparents, other guardians, and single parents. Unions should also take into account that infant care, afterschool care, summer and holiday care, youth programs, and emergency and sick child care may be much more important for their represented workforce than preschool.

Another way to broaden the issue is to look at child care in the wider context of work/family issues. Unions can and should be working on child care issues through legislation and negotiation, but should also be looking at meeting members' family needs in other ways. These may include paid family leave, alternative work schedules, educational benefits and retirees' programs, which can all contribute to a "package" of family-friendly supports assisting members and their families from birth through retirement.

Union leaders emphasized that child care should be defined broadly when asking members about their needs.

Union surveys of members' needs often find that members identify child care as a low priority. A broader understanding of child care as an issue that matters for both men and women and for parents and guardians of children from infancy to adolescence might produce different results. In several interviews, union leaders emphasized that child care should be defined broadly when asking members about their needs. Quan emphasized that it is widely recognized that child care means birth to kindergarten, but there is huge inattention

to afterschool or sick care programs.[30] Stern argued the same point, stating that we "need to talk about child care as more than just preschoolers.[31]

Promote Child Care as a Public Good

Silence around the real difficulties of caring for kids while holding down a job means that union leaders are deprived of an opportunity to work together successfully to improve the situation.

Because there is such a prevalent attitude in the United States that child care is the responsibility of each individual family, few working parents expect or demand support in meeting their child care needs from their union, their boss, or their elected officials. The result is that most working parents suffer in silence, struggling to meet the constant needs of their children while behaving, in effect, as if the children don't exist. This silence around the real difficulties of caring for kids while holding down a job means that union leaders are deprived of an opportunity to work together successfully to improve the situation. The attitude that working moms and dads are on their own is reinforced when employers argue in contract negotiations that they are "not in the business of child care" when unions do take demands for child care to the bargaining table. It is also reinforced by local, state, and national legislatures, which fail to pass legislation funding public child care programs for working people.

Successful legislative campaigns and union negotiations winning child care benefits from governments or employers will also help to change public opinion about the validity of demanding that parents not be left on their own to solve their own child care problems.

Efforts to change public opinion on this issue can and should happen at various levels. Unions can conduct internal educational campaigns to help rank-and-file members see child care as a basic right that should be provided by their employer or as a public service. Child care advocates from both inside and outside the labor movement can work to educate more top-level labor leaders to look at child care as a bread-and-butter issue for their membership. Successful legislative campaigns and union negotiations winning child care benefits from governments or employers will also help to change public opinion about the validity of demanding that parents not be left on their own to solve their own child care problems. National or local public opinion campaigns launched by child care advocates or coalitions could have a similar effect.

In order for labor unions to become more active on child care issues, a small group must first articulate a "coherent advocacy agenda specifically for child care."

Identify Champions

In order to push forward an innovative agenda, it is important for some individual or group to take responsibility for being the "voice for change." This voice for change may be just the "voice" or public face of the movement for change, or may in fact be an active catalyst for change, doing work to bring about the desired shift. For example, Amy Dean argued that in order for labor unions to become more active on child care issues, a small group must first articulate a "coherent advocacy agenda specifically for child care." Dean maintains that this kind of agenda may not grow out of the whole labor movement, but first be championed by a small group, "and then the rest of labor will move."[32] As mentioned above, several leaders we interviewed held that leaders from outside the labor movement would be effective champions for bringing about change.

Set Accomplishable Goals

"Take on campaigns that can be won," says Nussbaum of the Working Women's Department. This reflected a common theme from interviews that the larger goal of getting labor unions to prioritize child care should be taken in smaller, accomplishable steps. For instance, Nussbaum pointed out that there is not much national momentum for child care right now. However, there is momentum being generated by labor at the state level in various states. One such state is New York, where a union-led coalition won over $177 million in new dollars in the state budget for child care. Nussbaum stressed the need to communicate this achievement to labor leaders in other states so that they could learn from New York's example and also be convinced that they could win in such a campaign.[33]

Legitimate New Ideas

One way to introduce new ideas or practices to an organization is by tying them to already-accepted ideas or ways of doing things so that they can be more easily understood and adopted. Because labor does not currently give full priority to advocating for child care, changing the situation may be easier if labor leaders and members

There is a great need for surveys and rank-and-file mobilization that will show the value of child care as an organizing issue.

understand how child care advocacy fits in with other currently accepted priorities. For example, as we discussed above, there is a great need for surveys and rank-and-file mobilization that will show the value of child care as an organizing issue.

Another strategy is to hold up as models those unions that have successfully bargained for child care for their members. This can be a strategy both for legitimating unions for nonunion workers, thus supporting new organizing, and for legitimating a child care focus for other unionists. Dennis Rivera pointed out that most working people have child care needs, including those who are not union members. "So...if we're successful [in providing child care for our members], other people will look to the labor movement and say they want to be part of the labor movement...Once you have child care in collective bargaining, you can show people when you're organizing what the union has been able to achieve." He also argued that unions, such as 1199, that have had great success in delivering child care to their members can be role models for other unions and show other unions the benefits of making child care a priority. "Every organization wants to grow bigger and survive," he said. "We need to promote child care in collective bargaining and organizing strategies...and show that unions that have these programs have a higher level of loyalty from members to their institutions...We need to appeal to their self-interest."[34]

Increase Visibility

A strategy that could (and perhaps should) be used in combination with all the other strategies discussed is that of increasing visibility for child care issues throughout the union movement. Although such a strategy does imply a champion or champions to keep pushing for visibility, proponents of the issue need not be high-level leaders. Any active unionist from the rank-and-file up to the highest elected leader who has an interest in child care can play a role in increasing visibility. For instance, local rank-and-file members of unions can insist on having child care provided at union meetings, conventions, and

conferences, and can demand child care be included in bargaining priorities. Members and leaders can present resolutions supporting child care at conventions and conferences and can call for workshops and other sessions on issues related to child care. Higher-level leaders can use their positions on committees and boards and in their own unions as bully pulpits for consistently raising the issue.[35] Local and international unions can set a good example by providing child care for their staff.

Build Coalitions

Coalitions of a broad range of organizations and individuals have a greater base of power to draw from and are thus more likely to be effective than any single organization acting alone.

A number of the labor leaders interviewed made it clear that changing the approach of the labor movement to child care advocacy cannot happen in a vacuum. Instead, the change must be part of a larger strategy that includes building coalitions that include labor unions as well as child care advocacy groups, community-based organizations, political leaders, and others. Working through coalitions is important for a number of reasons, many linking back to the other strategies discussed here. Coalitions of a broad range of organizations and individuals have a greater base of power to draw from and are thus more likely to be effective than any single organization acting alone. A coalition of child care advocates and others can be the "outside voice" that draws labor unions into greater activism around child care issues. Once a coalition is formed, the coalition itself can be the champion promoting child care among its member organizations as well as with other groups. The support of a coalition for child care both lends legitimacy to the issue in a way that single advocacy groups cannot and gives child care greater exposure and visibility as an issue.

An excellent example of a coalition that has accomplished together what none of its members could have accomplished alone is the case of New York State, where millions of new dollars for child care were secured in the state budget by a labor-led coalition.

A similar case is that found in the San Francisco Bay Area, where a coalition convened by the Labor Project for Working Families has been successful in bringing together

a broad range of community-based organizations, child care advocacy groups, and labor unions to advance a regional work and family agenda. An important tool for organizing this coalition has been the Work and Family Bill of Rights, a five-point agenda that calls for paid family and medical leave, flexible work schedules, quality child and elder care, living wages, and adequate health coverage for all working families.

CONCLUSION

Only a national child care system and national family policies can guarantee benefits for all families.

Unions have bargained for innovative child care programs and benefits that help tens of thousands of working families. Using bargaining to address child care needs, however, has limitations. Family and child care benefits will not reach the majority of workers if they are bargained workplace by workplace and company by company. Only a national child care system and national family policies can guarantee benefits for all families.

Unions have always supported increased public investment in child care and unions also support efforts to design a "smart" public investment approach.

Unions have always supported increased public investment in child care. An example is the labor effort in New York that won $177 million new child care dollars for low-income families in the state. As in New York, the labor movement's advocacy in this arena will enhance its work in organizing and collective bargaining.

Unions also support efforts to design a "smart" public investment approach - one that directs increased public funds to programs that ensure not just the quantity and affordability, but also the quality of child care services. And, because research shows that quality is poor where salaries are low and turnover high, a smart approach is also one that ensures the fair compensation of child care workers.

Quality child care services allow workers to earn a paycheck while knowing their children are well-cared for and getting the support they need to enter school ready to learn. What services do not do is help workers to spend time with their children. Unions address this

problem by bargaining for benefits like flexible work schedules and through support of legislative efforts to pass the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). Unions are also working at state and federal levels on legislative battles to protect workers from forced overtime, to expand leave statues to include more families, and to make family leave paid.

Unions are part of the struggle to redesign work and workplaces so that, as the economy flourishes, families flourish as well. It is important that unions put the struggle for these family issues at the forefront of their agenda. These are issues that are critical for not just current union members, but for all working families.

APPENDIX I: WORKPLACE POLICIES WON THROUGH BARGAINING

A Child Care Fund for Health and Human Services Workers in New York City[36]

In 1989, 1199 Health and Human Services Employees Union, SEIU (1199), a union representing health care workers, was preparing for contract negotiations. The union is a strong, well-organized union representing the majority of workers in the health care industry in New York City. In meetings and conversations with union leaders, many 1199 members had been complaining about the lack of services for child care in their communities due to underfunding of the public school system and crumbling parochial schools. Also, the union was constantly dealing with workers for whom they had to file grievances to defend them for arriving late to work, leaving early, or otherwise responding to household issues. A union survey found that a significant percent of union members identified child care as a priority for themselves and their families and in 1989, the union bargained for an employer-paid child care trust fund.

Today, employers from 189 institutions contribute a certain percent of their gross payroll to the fund, which is administered by a labor-management board of trustees. The fund now provides a wide range of benefits for children of all ages, including:

- child care centers,
- cash vouchers for child care ($780-$3,900) and afterschool care ($400-$800),
- child care resource and referral,
- summer camp programs and subsidies,
- a holiday program,
- a cultural arts program, and
- a program for teenagers.

The early childhood and education centers provide children ages 2 to 5 with a rich environment of academic, cultural and recreational activities. These run from 7:15 a.m. to 6:30 p.m., Monday through Friday, 51 weeks a year. The cash vouchers provide direct financial assistance to parents to pay for child care and afterschool programs. They may be used for either licensed or "informal" care. The cultural arts program serves children and teens interested in dance, music, art, theater, tutoring, SAT/PSAT preparation, and physical education. This program is especially helpful for parents who must work every other weekend. In the Holiday Services program, the fund contracts with a number of organizations during the three weeks that schools are closed. These include YMCAs, religious groups, and other community-based organizations. In addition to these daylong programs, the Fresh Air Fund runs a sleep-away program during Spring and Winter breaks.

There are now 30,000 union members who have children and are, therefore, eligible to participate in these benefits. In 1998, the Fund provided program benefits to 8,427 children. The joint Fund serves as a model for the provision of quality and affordable child care and children's programs.

After achieving the Fund, 1199 decided that the union should also begin to more forcefully support statewide child care legislation. This impulse came from the union's understanding that using bargaining to address child care needs has its limitation. No matter how strong the 1199 Fund might be, the majority of New York's working families would still not have access to child care benefits. Only a statewide child care policy could guarantee benefits to a wide range of families. Working in coalition with other unions, community and advocacy organizations, 1199 has pushed the New York State legislature to increase its child care budget by $177 million.

Child Care Benefits for Hotel and Restaurant Employees in San Francisco[37]

On the other side of the country, in 1994, the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees (HERE) Local 2 conducted a survey of members' priority issues as they prepared to go into contract negotiations with 37 San Francisco hotels employing their members. The union then went to the bargaining table and won a child care (and elder care) fund for its members.

The 7,000 members of HERE Local 2 clean rooms, wash dishes, cook, serve cocktails and food, do bellhopping, operate phones, and much more. They work a variety of schedules, keeping San Francisco's hotels open 24 hours a day, seven days a week. They speak English, Spanish, Cantonese, Vietnamese, Korean, Tagalog, and other languages. Despite these differences, many of them share a common concern: they struggle to care for children while working, often for low wages.

The union negotiated for a fund into which employers now contribute 15 cents for every hour worked. The fund is administered by a labor/management board of trustees. Based on a needs assessment of workers, the labor/management committee decided that the best way to address members' needs was to provide direct cash subsidies for child care. They also decided that the amount of money in the fund must be enough to make a real difference; hence, the fund accumulates $1.4 million a year. Currently, over 800 members are receiving financial assistance from the fund; this translates into 25 percent of eligible members.

Child care benefits available include:

- $100-$200/month for child care expenses;
- $125/month for families with newborns up to one-year of age;
- up to $400/year for youth programs, enrichment classes, and summer camps;
- free child care resource and referral.[38]

According to HERE Local 2 president, Michael Casey, "The bottom line [with these benefits] is respect for members. These benefits address needs workers have that go beyond health and welfare needs as conventionally understood."

Like 1199, the union of health care workers in New York, HERE Local 2 also realized that the success of its Fund was only a first step. Despite the Local 2 Fund, the majority of California's working families still had no access to child care benefits. As a result, Local 2 is an active coalition member in the Work/Family Coalition of the San Francisco Bay Area. Through this coalition, Local 2 works with other unions, and community and advocacy organizations to push the California State legislature to increase its child care budget and expand its support of family-friendly workplace policies.

A Work and Family Fund for Auto Workers Around the Country

The United Auto Workers (UAW) bargained for a fund to cover a variety of programs to meet members' needs, including those related to balancing work and family, in national negotiations with the "Big Three" automakers - the Ford Motor Company, General Motors Corporation, and DaimlerChrysler. This fund, established in 1982, is financed through employer contributions at the current rate of 15 cents per hour worked by UAW members. One-third of this amount is designated for national programs, one-third for local programs, and one-third for a special supplemental reserve fund. The fund pays for programs for UAW members which address health and safety, job training and work and family issues. These programs are administered through three national training centers, one for each employer, and each staffed by a joint labor/management team.

Working through the training centers in collaboration with management of the Big Three, the UAW has created a myriad of child care programs and benefits that support hundreds of thousands of active and retired union members and their families. Some of these programs include:

- Child care Resource and Referral, which assists members in finding quality care for children. For example, the Resource and Referral programs provide information on request about afterschool care (lists of agencies, costs, and a contact person at each agency). The programs also offer educational information on general parenting topics.
- Child Development Centers, which provide on-site child care and summer programs for school-age kids. The Child Development Center in Flint, Michigan, is open 24 hours a day, five days a week, serving the children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews of union members on three different shifts. This award-winning center accommodates about 265 children, ages six weeks to 12 years.
- Child Care Consortium participation, which puts the strength of this major union behind collaborative efforts such as the Tonawanda Business Community Child-Care Consortium in Buffalo, New York. This Consortium helped develop child care in the Buffalo area used by UAW members as well as others, child care which includes emergency back-up care and extended-hours programs for children of families working nontraditional hours.

- Expanded Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) coverage, which assures that employers will comply with the FMLA. For example, members represented by UAW at DaimlerChrysler and Ford may substitute paid vacation time or excused absence allowance for unpaid FMLA leave if they choose, but are not required to use up their vacation/excused absence time before they can take FMLA leave. Workers who take FMLA leave also continue to accrue seniority during the course of their leave.

These programs represent only a sampling of the many programs and services offered through the joint labor/management centers of the UAW and the Big Three.

Auto Workers in Detroit: A Fund for Children

In April 1999, the UAW, in partnership with the Big Three automakers, established a $6 million family services project to aid working parents in the Detroit area in caring for infants, toddlers, preschoolers, and school-age children. This initiative, known as the "Alliance for Children and Working Families," will offer nine family service programs developed in response to a needs assessment survey of workers. These programs will provide a range of services in the Detroit area, including:

- training and technical assistance for existing child care providers;
- a "Summer of Service," featuring supervised community volunteer projects for young teenagers;
- development of new programs in the areas of greatest need, such as summer camps and after-school programs; and
- emergency/backup in-home and center-based care.

The primary beneficiaries of Alliance programs will be 60,000 Detroit-area employees of DaimlerChrysler, Ford and General Motors. Many aspects of Alliance activities, however, such as training and technical to child care providers, will benefit all parents who use such services, regardless of where they are employed.

The new programs will be administered by three joint labor/management training centers established by the union with the employers. Financing comes from employer contributions according to terms specified in the UAW labor contracts.

Work and Family Benefits for Clerical and Technical Workers in Cambridge, Massachusetts[39]

In early 1989, the Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers (HUCTW) had just won an historic victory organizing 3,700 employees of Harvard University in Massachusetts. Eighty-three percent of the union's membership was female, prompting organizers' decision to make the union "a model for women everywhere," as lead organizer Kris Rondeau put it. A survey of members identified work/family issues, including child care, as a big priority. According to

Rondeau, the union viewed work/family issues as falling into two categories: time and flexibility, and money and affordability. Securing funds to ease the financial burden of finding child care was important. Real progress on child care issues also would mean encouraging teamwork and allowing more flexibility in scheduling and work rules.

With this in mind, the union was determined to make both the contract and the negotiation process for the first contract participatory and flexible. Hence, HUCTW and the university administration agreed to set up collaborative bargaining tables to resolve their issues, including child care.

Meanwhile, the union continued the kind of activism that had helped it win the election. They held "baby picket lines" regularly; members would turn out at lunch time with their children to draw attention to the need for child care. The union made peanut butter sandwiches, had music, provided child care, and gave out balloons. "We tried to paint a picture of the whole worker, to say, 'you can't take us out of context'," explained Rondeau. "It was about the quality of work and life for ourselves and our children."

At the conclusion of negotiations, HUCTW and the University agreed to set up a child care fund which provides cash grants based on need to members to pay for licensed child care providers. The fund has increased by $10,000 over the past 12 years to $155,000 for 1999. The funds are used to pay for child care centers, family child care, afterschool programs, and summer camps and programs. It is used by 120 to 200 workers a year. The average amount given is $1,500 a year. while there is an income "line," there is no income ceiling for eligibility. All workers who earn under $68,000 and who apply receive funds.

The impact of the child care fund as well as increased wages and other benefits has been enormous. Turnover had been very high at the University. Many workers could not afford to stay and left the job to go on welfare. The workforce has now stabilized. However, more money is needed for child care, especially in the area of emergency care. There are sometimes funds for emergency care when another worker leaves and forfeits the grant.

Over the last ten years, the union has won many other rights for working parents: Members may use sick time to care for sick family members; biological mothers may take eight weeks of paid maternity leave and may use accrued sick and vacation time for an additional five weeks to care for the newborn child, all with the assurance of returning to the same position; biological fathers and adoptive parents may take one week paid parental leave with this same assurance; beyond this, they may take additional time off using accrued vacation time (if desired) and/or unpaid time, although on return to work they may not be assigned the same position.

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Dependent Care Funds for Telephone Workers[40]

The Communication Workers of America (CWA) have negotiated two substantial child care funds, the first with Bell Atlantic, and the second with AT&T.

CWA, along with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 2213, originally negotiated with Bell Atlantic for a $7 million fund. Up to $1.5 million of this can be spent each year for reimbursement for licensed or legally operated care for children (and elders). In addition, in 1998, a supplemental CWA/Bell Atlantic fund totaling $3 million was negotiated. Again, up to $1.5 million of this can be used each year for dependent care reimbursement or for other work/family projects which the joint committee approves.

The CWA/AT&T fund, a $6.7 million dollar fund, finances projects and initiatives that increase the number of child care providers serving communication workers and the quality of the services available to such workers. Examples of such initiatives include training of care providers, start-up loans for care centers, planning grants to community agencies, and matching funds for federal or state grants to nonprofit organizations that foster family care programs. A joint labor/management committee reviews and selects proposals for funding.

The cases above show union accomplishments around such child care services and financing as on-site and near-site child care centers; programs for school-age children before and after school; backup care for sick children or for emergency situations; and care for children during evenings, weekends, holidays, summer vacations, and nonstandard hours. For additional examples of path-breaking contracts in these areas, see Appendix III.

Unions also bargain for other kinds of provisions that help parents care for children. These include various types of family-related leave and flexible work schedules. Examples of these kinds of provisions follow:

Parental and Family Leave

Family leave and parental leave, both paid and unpaid, have been negotiated by unions. So have other kinds of leave language, such as use of a worker's sick time to care for sick family members, time for parent-teacher conferences, or conversion of paid leave other than vacation to one pot of "Paid Time Off." Examples include:

- AFSCME Council 31 negotiated for two weeks of paid maternity or paternity leave, including adoptive parents for eligible Illinois State employees (American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Council 31 and the State of Illinois).

- The Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild Local 35 won the right for members to use their sick leave to care for their sick children. Members also may take up to five days of sick leave a year to care for a disabled spouse, parent, person acting as a parent, or cohabiting life-partner requiring home care (Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild Local 35 & Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.).
- SEIU Local 790 bargained for four hours of paid time off for parents and legal guardians to attend conferences with teachers about their children (Service Employees International Union Local 790 and the San Francisco Unified School District).
- HERE Local 2 bargained for paid time off which can be used at an employee's discretion for any reason, including emergency illness. Employees receive 8-12 days of paid time off annually, depending on seniority, with these days being separate from vacation time they receive (Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 2 and San Francisco Hotel Multi-Employer Group).

Expanding the FMLA Through Bargaining

Through contract language, many unions have expanded the availability and the protections of the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). Such language may make FMLA leave paid, may make the law enforceable through a grievance procedure, or may expand eligibility for FMLA leave to workers not automatically covered under the Act. Examples:

- Local One of the Public Employees union bargained with the Berkeley, California School District to define immediate family as the mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, of the employee or the spouse of the employee, and the spouse, domestic partner, son and daughter of the domestic partner, son, son-in-law, daughter, daughter-in-law, brother or sister of the employee or any relative living in the immediate household of the employee (Public Employees, Local One, and the Unified School District of Berkeley).
- Flight Attendants represented by the Teamsters won contract language assuring that members with 443 hours of service in a 12-month period are eligible to take time off in accordance with the FMLA, rather than the 1250 hours of service as required by the FMLA (Flight Attendants in the service of Northwest Airlines as represented by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Northwest Airlines).

Alternative Work Schedules

Alternative work schedules bargained by labor unions include flextime, telecommuting, compressed work schedules, and part-time return to work after the birth/adoption of a child. These kinds of schedules often give working people greater flexibility to meet their families' needs than do traditional schedules. Examples include:

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- CWA negotiated flexible scheduling with Bell South Telecommunications. Under the agreement each employee must be at work during "core hours," which cover 60% of the normal workday. However, each employee may vary beginning and ending times within basic scheduling guidelines (Communications Workers of America and BellSouth Telecommunications).
- SEIU Local 660 negotiated telecommuting standards for county employees under which workers telecommute voluntarily while spending some days each week at the office. Employees working at home receive overtime and vacation benefits, and are eligible for workers' compensation for job-related accidents (Service Employees International Union Local 660 and Los Angeles County).
- AFT Local 3695 bargained for part-time return to work for parents after the birth or adoption of a child. Parents may work part-time for up to six months and may request to work part-time for up to 12 months (University of Connecticut Professional Employees Association, Local 3695, American Federation of Teachers, and the University of Connecticut).

Appendix II: BARGAINING STRATEGIES

I. Child Care Services And Financing – Bargaining Strategies

The Strategy	About the Strategy	Model Contract Examples
Resources and Referral Services	Finding high-quality, reliable, affordable care can be very difficult for working parents. Resource and referral services can help match employees with appropriate and available child care providers, taking into consideration the special needs of each family. An employer may contract with an outside agency or handle referrals in-house. Resource and referral services also can help develop child care resources in an area if no appropriate child care exists.	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1245 and Pacific Gas & Electric.
Tax Programs	Tax Programs: A dependent Care Assistance Plan (DCAP) or Flexible Spending Account allows workers to set aside up to $5,000 of their earnings in a tax-free account to pay for child care or elder care. The only cost to the employer for this IRS plan is its administration.	International Union of Electrical Workers and General Electric.
Child Care Funds	Child care funds offset the high cost of child care. A child care fund provides reimbursement for child care expenses or payment directly to a child care provider.	1199 Health and Human Services Employees Union, NYC, Child Care Fund and Contributing Employers.
Employer-Provided Child Care	Unions have negotiated for on-site and off-site child care centers, subsidized slots in existing centers, and networks of family day care homes. Setting up a child care center is a costly and time-consuming process. Before negotiating for a child care center, be sure to consider the needs of your members: Do they prefer in-home or center care? Are they willing to drive to an off-site center? What shifts do they work? Are their children preschool age?	International Association of Machinists District Lodge 751 and Boeing.
Back-Up & Sick Child Care	Backup care can be provided for mildly sick children, on days when normal care arrangements fall through or in other unusual situations such as snow days. Parents of school-age children may need child care during summer vacations and on holidays. Backup care can be provided through a special program, such as employer subsidies for in-home care or a backup center, or by allowing parents to use their sick time to care for sick children.	Alameda County Employees Labor Coalition/Service Employees International Union Locals 535, 616 and 790 and Alameda County, California.
Extended Hours For Child Care	Many working parents need child care before 9 a.m. and after 5 p.m., including before- and after-school hours and during extended hours when parents are working shifts.	United Auto Workers and the Tonawanda Business Community Child Care Consortium.

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II. Family Leave – Bargaining Strategies

The Strategy	About the Strategy	Model Contract Example[41]
Family Leave	Family leave gives an employee the right to take time off from work to care for a newborn or newly adopted child, to care for a family member who is seriously ill or sometimes for other personal reasons.	United Steelworkers of America Local 12075 and Dow Chemical.
Parental Leave	Parental leave is taken by mothers and fathers to care for newborn, newly adopted or foster care children. It is very effective in reducing turnover, training costs and absenteeism. Five states provide temporary disability leave for women for pregnancy or child- birth. Some contracts also contain provisions offering this benefit. Temporary disability leave often is used in combination with parental leave. The best parental leave language provides for paid leave, but many contracts offer unpaid leave as well.	American Federation of Musicians Local 6 and the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra.
Part-Time Return to Work	Many new parents want to work part-time after children are born or adopted. Unions have bargained for part- time return to work for new parents.	No. Calif. Newspaper Guild Local 52 and San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner.
Short-Term Leave	Working families often need short periods of time off from work, such as a half day or a few hours. Unions have bargained contracts allowing time off for various personal reasons, including school-related activities and adoption proceedings.	Service Employees International Union Local 790 and the San Francisco Unified School District.
Donated Leave & Leave Banks	Some union contracts allow employees to donate their own leave directly to a leave bank or to another employee who has used all of her own leave. Leave of this sort may be reserved for workers having serious family or personal crises.	New York State Nurses Association and St. Luke's Roosevelt Hospital Center.
Expanded Definition of "Family"	The traditional idea of "family" as composed of a mother, father and children does not describe many of today's working families. The definition of family in leave clauses is being broadened to include many different kinds of relationships.	Public Employees, Local One, and the Unified School District of Berkeley.
Paid Time Off (PTO)	PTO generally combines sick and personal leave time and is separate from other vacation time employees may have. It can be used for any personal reason, such as caring for a sick child or recuperating from one's own illness.	Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 2 and S.F. Hotel Multi-Employer Group.
Time for Sick Family Members	Unions have negotiated to allow workers to use their own sick time to care for sick family members.	United Auto Workers Local 2324 and United Front Child Development Programs.

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Leave for Special Causes	Sometimes working people need leave to deal with particular family-related issues. Unions have bargained for leave to be taken in special situations, such as for families suffering from domestic violence.	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees, Service Employees Union and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

III. The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) – Bargaining Strategies

The Strategy	About the Strategy	Model Contract Examples
Making FMLA Leave Paid	Many working families cannot afford to take needed time off without pay. Receiving pay while on FMLA leave can make it possible to use rights given under the law.	American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 11 and the State of Ohio.
Building FMLA Language	If an employer violates FMLA law in some way, the only recourse is to file a complaint with the Department of Labor or to hire a lawyer. Both strategies can be very time-consuming. If the employer agrees in a union contract to abide by the FMLA, violations can be settled through the union's grievance procedure.	Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 2850 and Concession Air, Inc., Oakland International Airport.
Expanding FMLA Coverage	Not all employers are required to abide by the FMLA. For example, employers with fewer than 50 employees need not provide FMLA benefits. Contracts can assure the right to FMLA benefits for all members, regardless of whether or not the members or the employer meet eligibility guidelines of the FMLA.	Service Employees International Union Local 535 and the Labor Project for Working Families
Expanding Reasons for FMLA	FMLA leave can be taken only for an employee's own serious illness; for the birth, adoption or foster care placement of a child; or to care for a seriously ill spouse, parent or child. By defining family in a contract as including, for example, grandparents, domestic partners and in-laws, unions expand the instances in which an employee can take FMLA leave.	Public Employees Local One and the Unified School District of Berkeley
Increasing Length of Leave	In some cases, 12 weeks is not enough time to deal with some family or medical situations. The length of FMLA leave can be increased through bargaining.	United Auto Workers Local 2324 and United Front Child Development Programs.
Limiting Employer's Rights	Bargain to limit your employer's right to designate what kind of paid leave will be used for FMLA.	Service Employees International Union Local 1877 and Apcoa Inc.

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Continuing Benefits During Leave	Under the FMLA, employers must continue to provide health benefits on the same basis as before the leave, but they are not obligated to provide any other benefits or to help an employee who becomes unable to afford to pay his or her share of health insurance premiums.	United Auto Workers and Ford Motor Company.
Accruing Seniority During Leave	Under the FMLA, seniority accrues during leave only for the purposes of vesting and eligibility in pension and retirement funds. Unions can bargain for accrual of seniority for other purposes as well, such as for vacation time or scheduling.	Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 2 and San Francisco Hotel Multi- Employer Group.
Returning to Work After Birth	Intermittent leave is allowed under the FMLA only for a serious health condition of the employee, or employee's spouse, child or parent. Unions can expand this provision to allow new parents to work reduced or intermittent schedules.	American Federation of Teachers Local 3695 and the University of Connecticut.

IV. Alternative Work Schedules – Bargaining Strategies

The Strategy	About the Strategy	Model Contract Examples
Flextime	Flextime agreements allow employees to start and end work during some range of hours. All employees may be required to be present during a core period.	Communications Workers of America and BellSouth Telecommunications.
Part-Time Work with Benefits	Part-time work can give people flexibility to take care of family needs. However, a part-time schedule may be unworkable if it does not come with health care and other benefits. Unions have bargained to provide part-time employees with benefits.	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1245 and Pacific Gas & Electric.
Telecommuting	Telecommuting means working from a site other than the central work site, usually at home. Unions have traditionally opposed this because work done at home is difficult to regulate and can easily become "sweatshop" labor. Also, workers who telecommute can become isolated and are difficult to organize. However, telecommuting can offer workers a great deal of flexibility and many union members favor it.	Service Employees International Union Local 660 and Los Angeles County.
Job Sharing	Under a job-share agreement, two part-time employees share one full-time job. The employees divide the full-time salary according to hours worked. Benefits and seniority often are prorated according to hours worked, although in some job-share situations both may receive full benefits and/or seniority. Union contracts can protect employees' right to enter into a job-share arrangement and can establish standards for job sharing.	American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2505 and Executive Department of the State of Oregon.

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Compressed Work Week	Compressed work schedules allow full-time workers to work all their hours in fewer than five days per week. Common examples of these schedules allow workers to work four 10-hour days for an extra day off per week, or eight 9-hour days and one 8-hour day for an extra day off every 2 weeks.	International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 830 and Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Company.
Making Overtime Voluntary	For many working families, being forced to stay at work past the regularly scheduled end time can be very stressful, particularly for working parents who do not have backup arrangements for child care. Provisions in union contracts making overtime voluntary protect employees from this loss of power over their daily schedules.	Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild Local 35 and Bureau of National Affairs.
Shift Swaps	A shift swap provision in a union contract allows workers to exchange shifts or workdays voluntarily to accommodate family needs, such as attending school events or medical appointments.	Association of Western Pulp & Paper Workers and Longview Fibre Company, Longview Mill.
Shorter Work Week	Unions have bargained for shorter work weeks for their members with full compensation. Some unions also have used shorter work week provisions with less compensation as an alternative to layoffs.	Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 3 and S.F, Marin, & Sonoma Trade Union Health and Welfare & Pension Fund Offices.
Voluntary Reduced Time	Voluntary reduced time allows an employee to reduce the number of hours she or he works in a week in order to have extra time to take care of personal or family needs.	Service Employees International Union Local 715 and Santa Clara and San Mateo Counties, California.

APPENDIX III: NEW YORK AND CALIFORNIA COALITIONS

California: Legislation, Lobbying, and a Diverse Coalition

In 1998, the Labor Project for Working Families brought together a group of San Francisco Bay Area labor unions and community activists to help build a broad alliance for working families. This group quickly became the nucleus of a large and dynamic coalition of labor unions, advocacy and community groups. Together these groups designed a Coalition agenda for 1999 that involved three major actions all of which included child care: organizing around the "Work and Family Bill of Rights"; creating opportunities for labor and community groups to build connections and alliances; and pushing a Work and Family Legislative Agenda.

The Coalition's legislative campaign, summarized in its "Work and Family Legislative Agenda 1999," included bills -- several of which were sponsored or co-sponsored by the California Labor Federation -- on public investment in child care services, child care worker compensation and training, and paid family/parental leave. Three bills on the Agenda epitomize the Coalition's efforts around child care: the "CARES" bill, which improves the compensation of child care workers by providing stipends to those who meet educational and tenure criteria; the Family Leave Expansion bill, which extends the right to take family leave to more workers, and; a bill to study paying for family and medical leave through State Disability Insurance (SDI) funds. Members of the Coalition helped advance the legislative agenda by lobbying for these bills in districts and the State Capitol.

Coalition members also helped advance the Agenda via a pledge-and-action campaign for the "Work and Family Bill of Rights." The "Bill of Rights" was originally created by the Labor Project for Working Families in cooperation with the New York Union Child Care Committee.[42] It is a statement of a work/family agenda -- including a child care legislative agenda -- for the labor movement and was created as a tool for mobilizing additional unions behind such an agenda. The document proclaims "The right to quality child care...which is affordable and accessible, [and] that provides living wages for the care provider." It also claims "The right to paid family and medical leave for...maternity and paternity leave...[and for] non-emergency needs such as family medical appointments or school activities." Thus far, 40 unions have adopted it and pledged to include its issues as part of their bargaining and public policy agenda.

The Coalition continues to strengthen and expand. At a gathering held by the Coalition in June 1999, over 150 people from unions, advocacy and community groups in five counties met to find ways of working together to solve a range of work/family problems, child care among them. Labor groups present came from all levels of the California labor movement. They included local unions like the Hospital Employees and Restaurant Employees (HERE) Local 2, the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 192 and the Service Employees

International Union (SEIU) Local 250 and leadership organizations like the California Labor Federation AFL-CIO and the Central Labor Councils AFL-CIO of Alameda, Contra Costa, San Francisco, San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties. Community and advocacy groups included child care and child welfare advocates, women's groups, community organizations, welfare rights groups, senior advocates, immigrant groups and many others.

New York State: Coalition-Building for Child Care Funding

In 1998, a coalition of New York unions came together to develop a proactive campaign on child care. Their first step was to hold a speak-out with President John Sweeney of the AFL-CIO and key labor leaders to discuss and publicize problems working people have with paying for and finding quality, affordable child care. Building from this event, the coalition joined with the New York State AFL-CIO and child care advocacy groups to mount the "Child Care That Works Campaign." The coalition's legislative goals include raises for child care workers, capital for new construction, and subsidies for child care expenses for low-income families.

The coalition has engaged in various actions, including holding lobbying days and organizing letter writing campaigns to win support for its program from state legislators. In this legislative session, the campaign was successful in winning over $177 million new dollars in state funding for child care. In addition, the coalition has introduced a bill that would provide paid family leave through the temporary disability system. Paid family leave means families would be able to take time off to care for a newborn or a seriously ill child, spouse or parent without losing their job or badly needed wages. These and other actions of the New York and San Francisco labor/community coalitions demonstrate the role of unions in advancing child care legislation.

Appendix IV: ACTION PLANS

The union leaders interviewed for this paper provided the framework for the three models above and proposed a broad range of strategies for motivating unions to take a more active role around child care. A number of them also laid out very specific, and often quite detailed "action plans" to show how their proposed strategies might work. In the following section, we briefly describe several of these strategies in bulleted format to give a taste of what implementation might look like for some aspects of the models described.

Demonstrate the Need: Proving that Child Care is Important

- Need to show that child care is a big issue in members lives
- Define child care broadly to include youth care, afterschool care, etc.
- Find foundations to fund studies and demonstration projects with unions
- Look at existing models of survey/study projects and child care delivery projects, such as those tracked by the Labor Project for Working Families
- Secure funding from inside or outside labor movement to set up child care programming
- Example of possible child care delivery strategy: give vouchers or direct subsidies to be spent on child care or youth activities and let families decide how to use them
- Find out if nonunion workers in the same area in similar industries are more motivated to organize because they want similar child care benefits

Get Around the Fear-Factor: Using Child Care as an Organizing Issue

- If there are lots of women in the workforce, child care could be an issue
- The problem is that when you are organizing, wages are usually so low that benefits are nonexistent
- Child care could be a pre-bargaining or pre-organizing issue/organizing tool
- Get women together from the targeted workforce to see if it is an issue
- Find outside funding sources, such as those available from federal and state governments in block grants
- Go to employer with a plan for delivering child care and say, "Look, we can put this together" even before formally entering into collective bargaining
- Once women are organized informally around this issue you can come in with bargaining through the back door
- This way you can get around the "fear factor" with the employer, show the employer that there's something in it for them, too.

Deliberately Engage Leaders: Personalizing Child Care for Top Leaders

- Need to use specific strategies
- Devise a program in which labor leaders would have to survey their own working daughters or daughters-in-law about their child care needs and how they manage work and child care
- Create a poll or survey instrument that can be used with these leaders and members at large as well
- Ask respondents to ask their closest relatives with children how they manage if they don't themselves have children
- Deliberately engage leaders on this by inviting them to public events where they will fill out this questionnaire for themselves, their daughters or daughters-in-law
- For leaders who are somewhat more interested, identify child care organizations in which they can participate by sitting on Boards of Directors, etc.

A Concrete Advocacy Agenda: A Champion Links Child Care to Economic Development

- Identify a small group to champion child care as an important part of a regional economy that would engage in the following activities
- Create a concrete advocacy agenda specifically for child care, including advocating for funding dollars to come from state and federal levels for quality child care and quality jobs as well as bargaining for child care benefits with employers
- Work with individual labor leaders to participate in this agenda or engage them through central labor councils
- Identify for labor unions what the leverage points are to move this child care agenda at local and state levels
- Inform unions and central labor councils of research about what child care contributes to the local economy
- Inform unions of bargaining options around child care
- Push local leaders to look at the child care workforce as a target for organizing

A Winning Target: Setting Accomplishable Goals

- National AFL-CIO or a foundation should put out an RFP to identify and fund one or two central labor councils that would be interested in doing a demonstration project on how unions can successfully advocate for child care and how local union leaders can be engaged around child care as an issue
- Identify the central labor councils to do the project
- Identify staff in central labor councils who will be responsible for the project
- Give the staff benchmarks to meet and specific tasks to fulfill (example: do outreach to at least ten local labor leaders within a year of receiving grant)

- Work with affiliate local unions of the labor councils to choose rank-and-file members to be on a committee for improving child care in their community
- This committee then educates local and other labor leaders on the importance of child care by leading tours through local child care centers
- On tours, the local leaders get their picture taken with kids, listen to rank-and-file parents and child care workers tell their stories, etc.
- Use tours for media exposure and to get leaders "on the record" as supportive of child care issues
- Find an employer in the area that is interested in providing child care
- Target this employer and work with this employer perhaps through a labor/management committee toward an accomplishable child care provision goal; hold up this employer as a model for other employers

A Shadow Structure: Increasing Women's Visibility in the Union

- Goal is to create an informational and leadership-building network for women outside the traditional structures of the union
- Another goal is to integrate women's issues (by extension, child care) into every aspect of the organization's activities
- Create a "shadow" external structure that lets women get together to identify obstacles to involvement in union
- Identify a champion within the union to implement this structure
- Offer 3-5 day courses in which women teach other women about options available to them in the union, strategic thinking, discerning between passive and aggressive activity
- Create local women's committee with same stature as other local committees using women who have participated in these courses
- Take these committees to the workplace to do similar educational programs about issues important to women, such as child care, violence in the workplace, or sexual harassment
- Essentially, this creates an advocacy group
- Women can move from the "shadow" structure of the women's committees into the mainstream of union (as grievance handlers, negotiators, trainers) and can begin to change perception of these issues as not just women's issue, but as union issues
- Strategy helps women feel comfortable in leadership roles, build speaking skills, teach about issues, develop reputation in their union and community, build alliances with community groups
- Create regional councils where women with local committees could meet in regional areas and eventually at the national/international levels. Regional councils can be a place where individual women with no local committee can get support/education/build reputation

Appendix V: CATALYTIC AGENCIES

Several groups within and alongside the labor movement have helped raise the profile of child care as a labor concern. The positions these groups have taken on child care and their activism on the issue can be traced through a number of their key publications.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW): CLUW was founded in 1974 by union activists eager to convey to their fellow trade unionists the responsibilities and opportunities that working women posed for the labor movement. Originally an ad hoc group of union women, today it is a formally recognized "constituency group" within the AFL-CIO. CLUW has promoted child care as a union issue from the group's early days. Its first publication on the issue was A Commitment to Children (1977). Perhaps its most widely disseminated publication on the topic is Bargaining for Family Benefits (1989).

Departments of International Unions: Child care has also been a central issue for departments in several international unions such as the Work and Family Department of the United Auto Workers (UAW), the Research Department of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) (now known as UNITE), and the Women's Right's Department of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).[43] Useful snapshots of the accomplishments of these unions in the area of child care can be found in, respectively, Families in Change: A UAW Work and Family Handbook (UAW 1993), Bargaining on Women's Issues and Family Concerns (ACTWU 1990), and Building Blocks: A Manual for Child Care (AFSCME 1990).

The Working Women's Department, AFL-CIO: The most recent and high-profile advocate of child care within labor is the new Working Women's Department of the AFL-CIO, established in 1996. Among the first accomplishments of this new Department was the "Ask a Working Woman" survey of over 50,000 working women. Following this survey, the Department declared child care one of its main areas of concern. (Prior to the Department's founding, the AFL-CIO published Putting Families First (n.d.).

The Labor Project for Working Families: The Labor Project was founded in 1992 to encourage the development of "work/family policies" within the labor movement and to support unions pursuing such policies in organizing, bargaining and public policy. Child care issues are a central focus of the organization. Some of the Labor Project's most notable publications on the topic include the Bargaining for Work and Family Fact Sheets (1997) (published by the Working Women's Department, AFL-CIO), Work, Family and the Labor Movement (1997) (part of the Changing Work in

America Series of the Radcliffe Public Policy Institute), and Labor News for Working Families, a quarterly newsletter.

These groups work within the labor movement to promote child care and other issues as a priority within unions and to provide technical support and other assistance to unions already seeking ways to expand their commitment to child care. They also work to advance solutions to child care problems in the public policy arena.

Appendix VI: SOURCES

To find out how unions can play a more active role in pushing for a better child care system, we talked to high-level and visionary leaders of the U.S. labor movement. Those leaders interviewed included high-ranking elected officials of the AFL-CIO and major international unions representing workers in the service, agricultural, and manufacturing sectors. The union leaders interviewed were chosen because each has a history of activism on family and women's issues within a labor or broader social context and/or has an explicit public commitment to these issues. Leaders invited for interviews were also chosen to create a representative group of leaders speaking for unions with membership in a variety of economic sectors. Although the unions representing educators and hotel and restaurant employees have often been in the forefront on work and family issues, unfortunately no appropriate representatives from the American Federation of Teachers or the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union were available for an interview for this paper. Elected officials who provided interviews for the paper included:

Bahr, Morton. President, Communications Workers of America. Personal interview, 5/28/99.

Bunn, Elizabeth. International Vice President, International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW. Personal interview, 6/1/99.

Chavez-Thompson, Linda. Executive Vice President, AFL-CIO. Personal letter, 6/11/99.

Cobble, Dorothy Sue. Editor, *Women and Unions: Forging a Partnership.* ILR Press: Ithaca, NY, 1993.

Dean, Amy. Executive Officer, South Bay Labor Council, AFL-CIO, San Jose, California. Personal interview, 5/20/99.

Grundy, Lea, and Netsy Firestein. "Work, Family, and the Labor Movement," *Changing Work in America Series.* Radcliffe Public Policy Institute: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1997.

Huerta, Dolores. Secretary/Treasurer, United Farmworkers of America. Personal interview, 6/14/99.

Johnson, Gloria. President, Coalition of Labor Union Women. Chair, International Union of Electrical Workers, Women's Council. Personal interview, 5/24/99.

King, Deborah. Chair, New York Union Child Care Coalition. Personal interview, 7/19/99.

Nussbaum, Karen. Director, Working Women's Department, AFL-CIO. Personal interview, 5/10/99.

Quan, Katie. Labor Policy Specialist, Center for Labor Research and Education, Berkeley, California. Personal interview, 5/4/99.

Rivera, Dennis. President, 1199 National Health and Human Service Employees Union, Service Employees International Union District. Personal interview, 6/9/99.

Schneider, Debbie. President, Service Employees International Union District 925. Personal interview, 5/20/99.

Stern, Andrew. President, Service Employees International Union. Personal interview, 6/4/99.

Stiller, Sharon. Assistant on Women's Issues to the International President, United Steelworkers of America. Personal interview, 5/7/99.

ENDNOTES

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[1] Miles Hochstein and Neal Halfon, *Brain Development* (Sacramento, CA: California Center for Health Improvement, 1997). p. 4.

[2] U.S. Department of the Treasury, *Investing in Child Care: Challenges Facing Working Parents and the Private Sector Response* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Treasury, 1999), p. v.

[3] California Child Care Resource and Referral Network, *The 1997 California Child Care Portfolio* (San Francisco, CA, 1997) p. 1.

[4] California Child Care Resource and Referral Network, p. 1

[5] ibid.

[6] Cost, Quality, and Child Outcomes Study Team, cited in Kagan and Cohen, p. 2.

[7] U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Care Around the Clock: Developing Child Care Resources Before 9 and After 5* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1995) p. 5. There are approximately 1,000 different work schedules in use in the U.S. today.

[8] Center for the Child Care Workforce, pp. 18-19.

[9] Dan Bellm et al, *Making Work Pay in the Child Care Industry* (Washington, DC: National Center for the Early Childhood Workforce, 1997) pp. 13-14.

[10] Center for the Child Care Workforce, pp. 19-20.

[11] Nancy E. Cohen and Sharon L. Kagan, eds., *Funding and Financing Early Care and Education* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy, 1997), p. 3.

[12] In this paper, "child care" is used to mean all types of education and care for children five and under, and programs for school-age children before and after school and during vacations.

[13] April Brayfield, *Child Care Costs as a Barrier to Women's Employment* (Washington DC: The Urban Institute and the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, September 1992).

[14] See, for example, Arlie Hochschild with Anne Machung, *The Second Shift* (New York: Avon Books, 1989) and The Glass Ceiling Commission, *A Solid Investment: Making Full Use of the Nation's Human Capital* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, 1996). A national study found that 14% of mothers between the ages of 21 and 29 cited lack of child care as the reason they were not in the workforce. Little Hoover Commission, p. 12.

[15] K.T. Young and C. Shoen, *The Commonwealth Fund Survey of Parents with Young Children* (New York, 1996), cited in Hochstein and Halfon, p. 3.

[16] Bahr, 5/28/99.

[17] Bunn, 6/1/99.

[18] Cowell in Cobble, 120

[19] Miller in Cobble, 120

[20] Stern, 6/4/99

[21] Nussbaum, 5/10/99

[22] Johnson, 5/24/99

[23] U.S. Department of Labor, *Work and Family Provisions in Major Collective Bargaining Agreements* (Washington, DC: Department of Labor, 1992) p. 7.

[24] Stiller, 5/7/99

[25] Except where otherwise noted, information from this section comes from "Child Care Union Drives Underway in Philadelphia and Seattle," *Rights, Raises & Respect: News and Issues for the Child Care Workforce* 3(1) (Winter 1999): 8.

[26] Stern, 6/4/99

[27] Quan, 5/4/99

[28] Stiller, 5/7/99

[29] Dean, 5/20/99

[30] Quan, 5/4/99

[31] Stern, 6/4/99

[32] Dean, 5/20/99

[33] Nussbaum, 5/10/99

[34] Rivera, 6/9/99

[35] Johnson, 5/24/99

[36] Carol Joyner, 1199/Employer Child Care Fund, personal interview, 4/22/98. Lynelle Mahon, 1199/Employer Child Care Fund, personal communication, 9/3/99.

[37] Michael Casey, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) Local 2, personal interview, 3/19/98 and 5/18/98. Lisa Jaicks, HERE Local 2/Hospitality Industry Child and Elder Care Plan, personal interview, 1/22/98.

[38] Similar benefits and resource and referral services are available to members for elder care.

[39] Kristine Rondeau, Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers (HUCTW), AFSCME, personal interview, 1/29/98, and personal communication, 9/99.

[40] Donna Dolan, Communication Workers of America (CWA) District 1, personal communication, 9/7/99.

[41] For actual contract language from these and other "best practices" contracts, contact the Labor Project for Working Families, 2521 Channing Way, Berkeley, CA 94720, 510/643-7646 or view the Labor Project's Webpage at http://www.laborproject.berkeley.edu

[42] A committee of the New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO

[43] Carolyn York, "Bargaining for Work and Family Benefits," in Cobble, p. 132